R E P O R T R E S U M E S

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THE ROLE OF INTEGRATION IN EDUCATION.

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PUB DATE 30 JUL 63

EDRS PRICE MF-$0.25 HC-$1.80 43P.

DESCRIPTORS- *SCHOOL INTEGRATION, *BOARD OF EDUCATION POLICY, *SCHOOL ZONING, COMPENSATORY EDUCATION, MINORITY GROUPS, NEGROES, RACIAL ATTITUDES, EDUCATIONAL DISCRIMINATION, EDUCATIONAL EQUALITY, METROPOLITAN AREAS, PUBLIC SCHOOLS, COMPARATIVE STATISTICS, SOUTHERN STATES, EXPENDITURES, INTEGRATION METHODS, INTEGRATION EFFECTS, NEW YORK CITY

THE LEGACY OF DISCRIMINATORY EDUCATION AND ITS CONTINUING PRACTICE HAS LEFT LARGE SECTIONS OF THE MINORITY FOPULATION "SHORT-CHANGED." THE BEST METHOD OF MAKING UP FOR THESE DEFICIENCIES, PAST AND PRESENT, IS COMPENSATORY EDUCATION. HOWEVER THIS TYPE OF EDUCATION HAS NOT BEEN WELL-IMPLEMENTED IN ANY LARGE CITY, INCLUDING NEW YORK CITY, BECAUSE OF THE MAGNITUDE OF STUDENT DEFICIENCY, THE LACK OF STRONG PROFESSIONAL LEADERSHIP IN EDUCATION, INACTION BY MINORITY GROUPS THEMSELVES, AND DISCOURAGING JOB POSSIBILITIES FOR THOSE STUDENTS WHO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF THE COMPENSATORY PROGRAMS. THE PROPER ROLE OF INTEGRATION IN PUBLIC EDUCATION IS TO CREATE A DEEPER UNDERSTANDINING OF AMERICAN SOCIETY, TO CREATE A WHOLESOME COMMUNITY ATTITUDE AMONG ALL MEN, FREE OF STEREOTYPES AND TENSIONS, AND TO CREATE EQUALITY OF EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY. IN 1963, THE NEW YORK CITY BOARD OF EDUCATION DECLARED THAT IT WAS COMMITTED TO DESEGREGATION OF THE CLASSROOM, PREPARATION OF STUDENTS FOR A CONSTRUCTIVE LIFE IN A PLURALISTIC SOCIETY, AND COMPENSATION FOR THOSE STUDENTS WHO HAVE BEEN DISCRIMINATED AGAINST. THE BOARD HAD EARLIER CREATED A COMPREHENSIVE ZONING PLAN AND HUMAN RELATIONS UNIT, BUT SINCE 1963 IT HAS SOUGHT ADDITIONAL MINORITY STAFF AND HAS INITIATED EDUCATIONAL ENRICHMENT AND PUPIL TRANSFER PROGRAMS. THIS PAPER WAS PRESENTED AT THE STATE UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, PLATTSBURGH, NEW YORK, JULY 30, 1963. (DK)

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THE ROLE OF INTEGRATION IN EDUCATION

(A paper presented at the State University College - Plattsburgh, New York, 7-30-63.)

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DEFINITIONS, CONCEPTS AND LIMITATIONS

The Director of the Ford Foundation's Public Affairs Program in an address before a Citizens' Conference on Community Planning made these relevant statements:

> ".....The metropolis as a continuous system that attracts the newcomer (once the Scots, the Irish, the Jews, the Italians, now the Negroes, the Puerto Ricans, the mountain Whites, the Mexicans, and the American Indians) and assimilates him into all that is up-to-date and sought after in urban culture..... This historic system of producing first-class citizens has worked, but as any production expert could tell you, it is dangerously slow, full of inefficiencies, and in many respects, primitive and barbaric..... So why not put Systems' Analysts to work on the social production system of the modern metropolis to look for the bottlenecks, to cut waste and reduce time, and to increase social output..... (42)*

Hencley has outlined six forces which are shaping new perspectives (9) All of them are related to my topic but the following three are especially timely:

1. The current population "explosion", the increased mobility of the American population, and the phenomenal growth of metropolitanism are generating unusual educational problems.

* Number refers to reference number at back.

2. Rapid shifts are occurring in world conceptions of morals, power, economics, and freedom.
3. The forces surrounding the schools are powerful and pervasive; they are creating strong societal demands that quantity in education be matched with quality and that universality be paralleled by excellence.

At this point it seems appropriate to quote the Dictionary of Education's definition of the word "education".

> "(1) the aggregate of all the processes by means which a person develops abilities, attitudes, and other forms of behavior of positive value in the society in which he lives; (2) the social process by which people are subjected to the influence of a selected and controlled environment (especially that of the school) so that they may attain social competence and optimum individual development."

In my own thinking, desegregation can be realized through legal means, pressures, policies, boycotts, etc., but, integration is much more difficult to achieve. It is related to men's attitudes, emotions, their concept of justice, their interpretation of what is morally right and in keeping with the American ideal of freedom and democracy. It is easy to mix students physically, which is desegregation, but, integration is not attained until the students of all

colors and races are interacting in an atmosphere of mutual respect; without distinctions or feelings of insecurity, inferiority or superiority. Unfortunately, desegregation and integration are often used interchangeably in present day educational parlance.

There are other current concepts of integration in our large cities which often breed confusion and unrest for the schools. One such view was fully explained by Joseph Monserrat in his address before the Conference on Integration in Schools at Columbia University last May. According to Mr. Monserrat, Puerto Ricans should not be classified according to color because they are fully integrated. If such a classification were made, most of their families would be divided between White or Negro.

Another concept which should be mentioned is the belief that if the students are integrated, the school is integrated. But, in my opinion, all levels or classifications of both students and staff should be desegregated if the school systems are to strive for true integration and it is worth noting that the integration of students is proceeding at a more rapid speed than the integration of administrative and teaching personnel.

By now you probably recognize what some of the delimitationsoof this talk will be. My concern is with public schools (elementary and secondary); and more specifically, schools in large cities; the emphasis is upon minorities (they may be Mexicans,Puerto Ricans,Negro

American Indians or poor Whites). Perhaps the major limitation upon a topic such as this is the lack of much documentation for supporting the conviction that, for America, integrated schools are in the best interest of all. The May 17, 1954 Supreme Court Decision is well known. Most people now accept the concept that integrated schools offer the best opportunities for preparing citizens for successful living in a multi-cultured, multi-racial and multi-religious society. Integration's role in education is to provide the best possible education for majority children as well as minority children. To me, I see no need to justify this position before a college and/or university audience. I am convinced that segregated schools, on the basis of race or color, have no place in our democratic system of public education. Confirmation of the Supreme Court's decision has been given by the President of the Country, most State Commissioners of Education and City Boards of Education. The role of integration does not need to be challenged, but rather, to be implemented.

THE BIG UMBRELLA OF INTEGRATION'S ROLE

The integration of our public schools is the most urgent, comple: and critical problem befcre the American citizenry. As I said before too many of us cannot approach the issues objectively and unemotionally. I have no doubt that the issues involved have frustrated and will frustrate some of our best minds. The big umbrella of integration's role, I believe, covers 99.9% of our adolescents and adults.

I usually think of our citizens as fitting into one of several attitudinal slots or compartments, and these seem to be the major groups. First there are those who hypothesize the role of integration. This group offers a wide variety of attitudes. Some are genuinely honest, others are hypocritical, some are actually afraid, and still others wish to be evasive. Familiar hypotheses are: Integration will lower academic standards; integration will set us back in race relations; integration means intermarriage; integration will cause the fortunate or advantaged to flee to segregated areas. Some say they oppose it not on a racial basis, but for academic reasons. There is a large body of believers who think the role of integration is to solve all problems of the schools. Many think the minorities should be satisfied with "tokenism", very limited integration.

There is a new publication, Integrated Education, published by Teachers for Integrated Schools in Chicago. Its first issue is dated January, 1963 and it is published bi-monthly. The April issue carries an article which says in part:

> ".....Age, marital status, religion, nationality, and cultural background of the applicant generally do not intrude as heavily - and as unfairly - as they once did..... Although these developments are encouraging from the standpoint of merit hiring, they do not necessarily provide grounds for optimism so far as the Negro teacher is concerned.....

"members of certain ethnic minorities - particularly Negroes - are simply not hired in some districts.".....

Out of 708 school district reporting in a study conducted in 1959, only sixteen per cent had employed one or more Negro teachers during the previous ten years. In contrast, twenty-one per cent had hired Chinese; twenty-eight per cent, Japanese; and forty-two per cent, Mexicans. Yet the Negro population greatly exceeds the Mexican and is many times more than the Chinese and Japanese..... there are 600 qualified Negro teachers in California who cannot find employment.....As late as 1957 only ten districts in Los Angeles County would employ Negro teachers. (17) Even by 1961 the number had increased only to twenty.....

A second group sees integration playing an international role. They proclaim that we must integrate in order to have good relations with the new developing countries, to combat communism's propaganda, and to support the United Nations' pronouncements. Integration, to them, is essential since we are a showcase of democracy.

Many other people who are also under the big umbrella of integration, reflect the belief that an integrated approach, through legal means, is a first step in clearing the stage for integration to play its role in education. This group is not only interracial but intersectional and interfaith. To me, they are democracy's necessary irritants. Their techniques include marches, sit-ins, jail-ins, selective buying, picketing, prayer vigils, legal action, voter

registration, mass meetings and agreements with the economic power structure.

Finally, a new fresh emphasis upon the moral aspects of integration is observable. This group, men of good will, see the problem as a moral issue. Integration, to them, is essential in a social order which accepts the thesis of the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man. President Kennedy has made this point in recent appearances on television and in his recommendations to Congress.

Those of us who reside in New York have heard much talk, in recent weeks, about racial imbalance in public schools. The New Jersey Commissioner of Education, Frederick M. Raubinger, handed down a decision on May 15, 1963 that the School Board of Orange County must take steps to reduce segregation in the schools. The Commissioner held that extreme racial imbalance in public schools constitutes a deprivation of educational opportunity for the pupils compelled to attend these schools.

New York Commissioner, James E. Allen, Jr., issued a request, to Boards of Education in the State on June 14, 1963, for reports regarding racial imbalance in the schools. Dr. Allen's message included a statement of principles regarding integration and a set of guidelines for securing racial balance in the schools. The New York Commissioner also released his ruling regarding racial imbalance in the Malverne schools in June 17, 1963. In this he

advised the school district to consider four approaches to the solution of the problem:

1. The utilization of the Princeton Plan (not specifically called by the name). Roughly this plan pairs two schools and divides the grades so as to require all students to attend both schools - School "A" can take grades 1 - 3 while School "B" will take grades 4 - 6;
2. Redraw attendance lines;
3. Establish a policy of "Open Enrollment" for all elementary schools; and
4. Transfer of pupils.

As Federal District Judge Julius J. Hoffman said:

> "By one means or another, our schools will be integrated, not only because segregation has been banned by law, but also as a result of the growing realization that our country cannot afford to suffer the losses incurred through racial separation in educational institutions. Segregation deprives both the white and the Negro child of the rich experience of working together, learning from one another, and acquiring habits of good citizenship..... It is painful to speculate on the amount of talent that the nation loses through failure to provide Negro children with sufficient opportunity and incentive to develop that talent....." (17)

THE SHORT-CHANGED

If one were to check the Education Report of The United States Commission on Civil Rights (1961) and/or the (1962) Report of the Subcommittee on Integration of the Committee on Education and Labor, U.S. House of Representatives, he will discover statements which I made regarding the role of integration in education. I also made strong pleas for compensatory factors for the unfortunate - such as a lower teacher-pupil ratio, more specialized personnel, more instructional materials, etc. In fact, to me, we must saturate the ghetto schools with excellent features in order to motivate the pupils to a point where they can accept and react in desirable ways in the rapidly approaching integrated school system. Such children have not had equal educational opportunities.

A bit of background seems appropriate here. Shortly after the turn of the century, a number of ways were devised to aid and promote wholesome education of Negroes at a time when 90% of them lived in Southern states. Superintendents paid little or no attention to the schools for Negroes. Most of their schools were in churches and lodge halls with only meager finances. The people had to provide for the teachers' salaries and boarding and local trustees served as a board of education.

The position of state agents for Negro schools, usually called State Supervisor of Negro Education, originated in 1910. Such administrators, all white, were appointed in fifteen states. Earlier, in 1907, the Jeanes Teacher Program was started in Virginia. These were Negro women who were good teachers. They assisted the Negro teachers of the County with instruction. It is necessary to place these facts in proper perspective in order to appreciate and understand fully some of the current problems.

May I present some comparative figures for emphasis:

"A"

1940 - 77% of America's 12,865,518 Negroes lived in the South. Now, today 40% live outside the South. New York City has over one million Negroes. Negroes make up 24% of the public school enrollment.

Some pertinent data regarding

SOUTHERN STATES

YEAR		WHITE	NEGRO
1940	Expenditure per child of school age for education	$ 68.00	26.00
	Average annual salary of teachers		
	Alabama	874.00	408.00
	Georgia	901.00	403.00
	Mississippi	821.00	235.00

(continued next page)

SOUTHERN STATES (cont'd)

YEAR			WHITE	NEGRO
1956	Median* school years completed by Adults, 25 years and older -		YEARS	
		United States	10	7
		Georgia	9	5
		Mississippi	10	5
			PERCENT	
1950	Percent of Adults with no schooling		3.2	12.3
	Percent of Adults with some college education		4.6	0.9
	Value of school property per pupil	$	335.00	85.00
	Pupil-Teacher ratio		27.3	32.1
	Number of days attending school		157	148
	Percent completing High School per age group		20.	2.3
	Percent enrolled in college in relation to the population		16.	4.
1954	Median income in United States	$	3,175.00	1,589.00
	Median income in Georgia	$	1,515.00	610.00
1956	Employment percentages - Highest		9.8	3.5
	Lowest		4.7	15.8

* When such factors as the quality of the instruction, the attendance records, instructional materials provided, the differences by races loom much wider.

"B"

Estimated expenditures per pupil in ADA - Public day elementary and secondary schools - 1963* (for only ten states)

Alabama	$255.00
California	515.54
Illinois	526.04
Michigan	447.00
Mississippi	230.00
New Jersey	556.00
New York	645.00
South Carolina	236.94
Tennessee	262.00
West Virginia	297.50
Washington D.C. and 50 states	432.00

Note that New York is highest and Mississippi the lowest; New York 2.8 is almost three times that of Mississippi.

* 1962-'63 NEA Research Report - "Estimates of School Statistics, 12/62, page 31."

It takes generations to overcome such inequalities for the parents of such children as well as the teachers are victims of the segregated system.

And this brings me to one of the most urgent problems of integration, the make-up of administrative and teaching personnel. In a recent survey of six of our largest cities, I found that the percentage of school principals who are Negroes is only 3%.

TOTAL NO. OF FULL PRINCIPALS EMPLOYED IN SIX LARGE CITIES			TOTAL NO. OF NEGRO STUDENTS IN THE SAME SIX LARGE CITIES		
H.S.	J.H.S.	Elem. Sch.	H.S.	J.H.S.	Elem. Sch.
4	4	42	245	261	1,782
		Total - 50			Total - 2,288

Without advocating the employment of principals on a population basis, integration's role is obstructed when the percentage of Negro students is 25%. The results are decreased motivation, a poor image of race, and tokenism.

Such conditions have and are still short-changing the Negro child. This is a result of unequal money, improper motivation, little interest, unequal human and material resources, unjust application of existing laws, and moral neglect. These children have not had access to good education. They are leaving the South at a rapid pace and are bringing their frustrations and academic retardance with them. The large cities face severe problems. They try to meet the situation by classifying them as the academically retarded; the culturally deprived; victims of a culture of poverty; the disadvantaged; problem children; children with problems; underprivileged. My term is the "short-changed". The best way I know of now is to treat them as having been short-changed by making up for the shortages. Such is known as "compensatory education". It is as simple as that.

THE ROAD BLOCKS TO INTEGRATING SCHOOLS

Although there is a growing acceptance (all races, all faiths

and all sections of the country) of the vital role to be played by integration in public education, we cannot close our eyes to the variety of road-blocks to complete desegregation.

To me, the most serious of these road-blocks is the present status of the schools for minorities. Henry Saltzman, in his address on "The Community School in the Urban Setting", gives a vivid nutshell description:

> " 1. pupil transiency rather than stability;
>
> 2. high percentages of reading and arithmetic retardation rather than strong mastery of the fundamentals;
>
> 3. weak rather than strong motivation;
>
> 4. above average drop out rates;
>
> 5. serious discipline problems;
>
> 6. uncorrected health defects which impair learning.
>
> In the home we often find the single parent family; the unemployed father; low education levels; and high adult and infant mortality rates."

A second road-block is related to a lack of strong, professional leadership in far too many large cities. We realize, of course, that the schools cannot cope with the problem alone but we must not excuse the profession from its responsibility. In some cities, the opposition to integration may not be identified as such but the effect is the same. This is usually called a "lip-service" support. Here public utterances do not square with grass-roots practices.

In considering the many road-blocks to integration's role, we are encouraged over the new leadership which the religious bodies are assuming. This is seen in all faiths and there are several recent examples - Cardinal Spellman's remarks at the Dedication of the Drew Houses, Rabbi Judiah Nadioh's admonition regarding the need for deeper interest in minority problems, and the newer approaches of several Protestant groups. It seems that the major religious bodies have, at last, decided to take a stand in favor of integration and thereby remove a vital road-block - the usual apathy and lack of concern, on a moral basis, for real integration.

Other problems that have come into sharper focus are segregated housing, discrimination in employment, too few opportunities for Union apprenticeship and the resultant lack of skills on the part of minorities.

Still other road-blocks are concerned with the action or inaction on the part of minorities themselves. We are in many cases too sensitive or too unconcerned about shortcomings. Integration's role in public education demands a "two-way" street operation. The minority can help and should help the majority, for the majority is disadvantaged when it is insulated from reality.

A strong Human Relations Program designed to remove unfounded fears, removing unjust images and playing down silly stereotypes, can do an effective job in removing deeply imbedded road-blocks. We must do a much better job in intergroup relations.

The schools cannot and should not be expected to carry the full load. To clear these road-blocks more money is needed and the emphasis should be not on the cost or expense but rather on the investment in America's future. The May, 1963 "School Boards" says it succinctly:

".....In the past.....educators have been part of a dedicated force of professionals from many disciplines who contributed to an unprecedented social transformation. Settlement house workers, case workers, nurses, politicians, industrialists, and labor leaders..... all made notable contributions to the welfare and advancement of the European newcomers.

"Similarly, no single agency of our present day cities 'can afford to go it alone' in dealing with the present issues of segregation. It would be 'sheer folly' for the schools to attempt unilateral action.... The impact of Negro in-migration to the city has fallen heavily upon the public school system....."

BREAKING BOTTLENECKS (Suggestions, Recommendations and Plans)

This leads me to a brief discussion of a few of the factors that slow down the rapid realization of integration in schools, for even where there is agreement on the role of integration there can be much disagreement on techniques and procedures.

My present position with the Phelps-Stokes Fund is primarily concerned with a positive approach to the problem. We have developed some rather successful projects for closing the academic gap between

the fortunate and the short-changed. These have been given excellent reviews in the publications of the United States Civil Rights Commission, the House Committee on Education and Labor reports and the mass media.

Without a doubt, the Ford Foundation, through its Gray Areas or Great Cities Programs, is contributing significantly to break bottlenecks.

A major bottleneck is parent misunderstanding. The home must be a partner in school integration. Therefore, an important aspect of integration's role is home or parent cooperation. The United Parents Associations' "Parent Action in School Integration" by Gladys Meyer, is full of wholesome suggestions.

Recently, we have observed official actions of State Commissioners of Education which include guidelines, suggestions and workable plans for hastening integration. Three can serve as examples:

> ".....The first involved the city of New Rochelle, N. Y., which two years ago acquired the distinction of being the first northern city ordered by a federal court to desegregate its schools despite racially imbalanced neighborhoods..... The New Rochelle plan emphasizes that 'transportation will be a key factor in our efforts to maintain an ethnic balance in the elementary schools and to prevent the emergence of segregated schools. '....The second event and perhaps

the most far-reaching, is the ruling by New Jersey State Commissioner of Education, Frederick M. Raubinger, that completely or almost exclusively Negro schools are illegal in that State. He declared that such schools create among Negroes a 'sense of stigma and resulting feeling of inferiority' which interferes with their successful learning.....The third event was the finding of a New York State Committee appointed.....by the State Commissioner of Education, that racial imbalance does exist in the Malverne, Long Island school district. Offered as the best solution for integration, there is the so-called Princeton Plan..... developed in Princeton, New Jersey. It involves in its simplest form the merging of two elementary school districts, near or adjacent to each other. All pupils in the newly merged district, whether white or Negro, attend grades one to three in one school, then all move to the other school for grades four through six....."

The American Jewish Committee (New York Chapter) has proposed a seventeen point program of suggestions and plans for realizing integration in norther urban school systems. The list was released on June 23, 1963 by the committee and the following quotation is taken from the four page, legal size news release:

".....The public schools have the duty and responsibility to point the way to the kind of integrated society we should

have, rather than merely to reflect the kind of segregated society we do have. The absence of diverse school populations results from general social causes among citizens, language barriers and the like. Education officials alone cannot modify such conditions, yet they cannot hold themselves free of the obligations to make a school system and the education arrangements in a community as democratic as feasible."..... Founded in 1906, the American Jewish Committee is the pioneer human relations agency in this country, combating bigotry, protecting civil and religious rights.....here and abroad and advancing the cause of human rights everywhere....."

One of the best examples that have come to my attention is the report prepared by the Department of Public Instruction, Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, entitled "Our Greatest Challenge, Human Relations - Guide to Intergroup Education in Schools", I recommend very highly this 57 page guide.

THE NEW YORK CITY BOARD OF EDUCATION'S INTEGRATION POLICY

Files, in <u>The Integrated Classroom</u> gives four criteria of a sound policy:

> ".....Most educators will agree that a sound policy meets four criteria:
>
> It states the reasons for its establishment.
>
> It cites the authority by which it is made.

It is clear, and does not contain ambiguities which leave the principal questions raised locally unanswered.

It states the time, place, and those involved in its implementation....." (14)

Another fact which should be emphasized is that the New York City Board of Education did not wait until the 1954 Supreme Court decision to issue a policy on integration of its schools. Here again we call upon Giles for a bit of historical support:

".....New York City is undoubtedly the city with the greatest concentration of Negro, Catholic, Jewish, and Puerto Rican population in the United States. It is not uncommon for a school to have more than forty ethnic groups represented. However, housing agreements, until recently, have resulted in segregated living for many members of these groups. Assistant Superintendent Benjamin B. Greenberg reports that by 1946 the New York schools were committed to the following general policy:

1. The schools, in cooperation with other agencies, are to focus their attention on the major goal of education - the development of effective citizens, with all individuals living together harmoniously.
2. The schools are to approach the problem in terms of a long-range program of intercultural education for human relations, integrating it with every

activity and area of learning and in terms of immediate approaches and positive measures, so that cliques within the schools may be broken down and there may be more normal intermingling of groups of different religious faiths and national origins....."

THE 1963 STATEMENT OF POLICY OF THE BOARD OF EDUCATION

"It has been said, correctly, that the schools alone cannot eliminate prejudice, discrimination and segregation. It is equally true that this task will not be accomplished with less than an all out effort of the schools.

Our schools must not be neutral in the struggle of society to better itself. We must not overlook the harmful effects of discrimination on the education of all children. Moreover, within the limits of our control, we must not acquiesce in the undemocratic school patterns which are a concomitant of segregated housing. Furthermore, we must continue our policy of not tolerating racial or religious prejudice on the part of any member of our staffs. If education is to fulfill its responsibility, it must recognize that the school world has a significant influence on each child's attitudes and affects the future of democracy.

To further its integration policy, the school system has respnsibilities to its pupils, to its personnel, and to the communities -

1. For pupils - we must seek ways to give every child an optimum opportunity for fulfillment and success

   a. Our school system must vigorously employ every means at its disposal to desegregate schools and classrooms and to bring about true integration as soon as possible.

   b. We must continue to develop educational programs which prepare all pupils to live constructively in a pluralistic society.

   c. We must provide whatever services and materials are essential to meet the special educational needs of those pupils whose progress has been impaired by an accumulation of the ills of discrimination. Simultaneously, we must lift the goals of those whose environment has kept their aspirational levels at a low plane.

2. For school personnel - we must develop personnel practices which will maximize the success of the integration program:

a. We must provide appropriate education and training for school personnel so that every staff member may gain an appreciation of the strengths inherent in the variety of backgrounds that compose our total population.

b. In recognition of the value to the children of association with professionals of different backgrounds, our staffing procedures must provide for better ethnic heterogeneity in school faculties.

c. It is essential that capable and experienced teachers and supervisors be distributed in accordance with educational needs.

3. With communities - we must work closely and cooperatively with communities:

a. We must support the efforts of those communities which are struggling to overcome past frustration and failure and to surmount present deprivation.

b. We consider it our obligation to help develop the kind of community attitudes which will help in the implementation of the integration policies of the City public schools."

The current nine member Board of Education has appointed three of its members as a Committee on Integration. The writer is a member of this Committee.

IMPLEMENTATION OF THE NEW YORK CITY BOARD OF EDUCATION INTEGRATION POLICY

Two significant and related steps were taken through the establishment of the Central Zoning Unit in 1957 and the Human Relations Unit in 1961. The titles of these units reflect their purposes and relation to integration.

One should not underestimate the impact of vastness in any consideration of implementing policies of the New York City Board of Education. Our school district covers five boroughs, or five counties, consisting of 860 schools in which more than one million students are taught by some 43,000 teachers. The mere matter of size affects greatly the implementation of policies. In this connection we have attempted to decentralize the school system through a system of local boards. This involves 225 carefully selected persons who serve on 25 boards (in 25 assistant superintendent districts) of nine members each. They are charged with the responsibility of serving as arms of the Central Board in such matters as site selection, public relations, etc. While the local boards work at the grass-roots of problems, and their recommendations are carefully considered, the Central Board is the legally responsible agency.

The staff has a five member committee on integration composed of

the Assistant Superintendent in charge of the Central Zoning Unit as Chairman with four other members; one from the Board of Examiners, the Coordinator of the Higher Horizons Program, the Assistant Superintendent for Recruitment and the Director of Human Relations Unit. This Committee issued a report, Part I, on February 15, 1963, outlining what has been done, what is being done, and what is proposed for the future for policy implementation in Zoning, Human Relations and Teacher Personnel. This twenty-seven page Report is available at the Board of Education, 110 Livingston Street, Brooklyn 1, N.Y. A few excerpts from the Report seem appropriate here:

> ".....A Comprehensive Zoning Plan was formulated by the Superintendent of Schools. It provided guide posts for the field Assistant Superintendents as he prepared his zoning proposals, established a set of criteria used by the Central Zoning Unit in determining the extent to which each field superintendent's zoning plan fitted into the city-wide pattern, and described procedures by which the objective of racial integration might be reached. Integration became one of the six cardinal principles of zoning..... Since 1957, the Central Zoning Unit has gradually, but consistently coordinated zoning plans of the 25 field Assistant Superintendents. This became especially important in cases where these plans involved more than one assistant superintendent's school district. The Unit has made periodic reports to the

Superintendent of Schools, indicating the progress and the status of plans for integration. From September 1960 through September 1961, the Central Zoning Unit reviewed proposals of 24 field assistant superintendents involving 213 schools and about 19,000 pupils. From September 1961 through September 1962, the Unit reviewed the proposals of 18 assistant superintendents affecting approximately 173 schools and over 10,500 pupils..... The Central Zoning Unit has kept a record of the ethnic compositio of all public schools - elementary, junior and senior high schools since 1957. Assistant Superintendents' district maps on file indicate peripheral areas. On still others, the ethnic compositio of schools is graphically depicted. In its files is a map indicating the zone of each of the 709 elementary and junior high schools. These are revised during July and August for schools whose names have been changed since the previous September....."

"The Human Relations Unit, formed in 1961, performs the following functions:

a. Working with the school-community coordinators to strengthen and extend and initiate school-community programs.

b. Supporting various efforts to encourage and strengthen parent organization activities - parent and parent-teacher workshops.

c. Providing speakers from its staff on appropriate subjects for parent associations or community groups.

d. Assisting Associate Superintendent or Assistant Superintendents or principals in tension situations.

e. Maintaining close liaison with many city-wide organizations in the fields of intergroup relations or civil rights

Members of the Bureau of Teacher Recruitment have taken the following specific steps to aid integration:

In cooperation with the staff of the Coordinator of the Higher Horizons Program, a definite effort is being made to increase the number of Future Teachers Clubs in special service schools. At present, there are 90 clubs in all junior high schools. An additional effort is being made to encourage such clubs in senior high schools that enroll a large number of Negro and Puerto Rican students.....

Approximately 15,000 copies of the brochure issued by the Bureau of Recruitment entitled "Teach in New York City - Cultural Center of the World, are being sent to Deans of Teacher Educatior Placement Directors and Librarians throughout the country. A special effort is being made to get these brochures into the hands of Negro students via their leaders.....

SOME RESULTS OF DESEGREGATED SCHOOLING

Even when school desegregation is accompanied by community disorder, "young children of both races seem able to learn without any physical or emotional injury or collapse, given initial good health and a functioning school system."

This is one of the findings of the first psychiatric study of the effects of desegregation on participating Negro and White students in the south.

The study, which took two years was conducted by Dr. Robert Coles, a psychiatrist of Atlanta, Georgia. A summary report, titled The Desegregation of Southern Schools: A Psychiatric Study, was published (3) in July 1963, by the Southern Regional Council and the AntiDefamation League of B'nai B'rith.

It deals primarily with six and seven year old elementary schools students in New Orleans, and 16 and 17 year old high school students in Atlanta. Supplementary evaluations were also made in desegregated schools in Charlotte, Asheville, and Burnsville, North Carolina; Clinton and Oak Ridge, Tennessee; and Little Rock, Arkansas.

Among the findings are these:

"Some segregationist children change their attitudes toward Negro children after attending school with them for a year.

Negro children find attendance in white schools 'stressful but not incapacitating.'

White children in desegregated schools suffer no 'medical or psychiatric damage' and no 'breakdown in ability to work, study and get along with friends'.

Children of both races continue their studies 'without impairment'.

From an academic viewpoint, desegregation is easier in elementary school grades.

The study found pressures on Negro children in desegregated schools varied 'only in degree' from those which had always faced them in their daily lives. It added that while it was hard for a Negro child to enter an all-white school, the change offered 'hope and opportunities for work, for assertion of self, which contrast with other moments that may have seemed to them not only hard but also futile and less fulfilling.'

Dr. Cole attributed changed attitudes in some white children to 'getting to know a particular Negro child', and 'thinking about the problem because they were part of a desegregated school'. He quoted a white high school senior from Atlanta:

'I have really changed a lot of my ideas. You can't help but have respect for them, the way they have gone through the year so well. They're nice kids, that's what you find out after awhile. They speak well and are more intelligent than a lot of my friends.....'

In discussing how Negro and white students got along in the same school, Dr. Coles said: "younger children played and worked together more readily than the older ones". He found the reactions of high school students were determined not only by their racial attitudes, but by the normal teen-age struggles of growing up. Personal knowledge of Negroes, however, did overcome old ideas of suspicion, distrust, contempt, and disdain held by some white adolescents.

Both Negro and white students continued to learn successfully. Dr. Coles pointed out, however, that although the majority of younger Negro students managed well, older ones sometimes had to overcome 'the burden of their former years' in schools 'often far from comparable to the white ones.' Despite some learning difficulties among Negro students who initiated desegregation in their high school years, the psychiatrist found very few academic problems insurmountable. He asserted, however, that there were 'less fixed disparities of educational achievement' in earlier grades than in higher grades.

According to the study, racial and personal feelings among the teachers in desegregated schools tended to give way to 'professional responsibilities and obligations', and few criticisms of teachers were heard from white or Negro children. Professional integrity 'transcended private feelings about race', Dr. Coles observed.

lle went on to say that children and teachers whose feelings are "exceptionally strong about desegregation" are a "special and rather small group."

'Our studies show that many people oppose desegregation, but also oppose the closing of the schools, mob behavior, or insulting or assaulting a fellow student, regardless of skin color. The particularly enraged person, be he teacher or student is relatively rare among millions of Southerners,' the psychiatrist said.

The study is the second in a series to be issued by the Anti-Defamation League and the Southern Regional Council on problems of desegregation. The first, Token Desegregation and Beyond, by J. Kenneth Morland, professor of sociology at Randolph-Macon Women's College in Virginia, was published last month. It analyzed 'devices' used by 'resistent' states in the south which had limited desegregatio to less than half of one percent of Negroes in all school districts, and contrasted these efforts with those of six 'complaint' states which had moved 51.1 percent of Negro pupils to non-racial schools 'creatively and successfully'.

CONCLUDING STATEMENT

In the attempt to describe the role of integration in education, I have tried to reflect it through a select group of research studies, investigations and by my own interpretations, concepts and convictions. No effort has been made to assume an academic attitude or to deal in platitudinous assertions. While I have been careful to document statements, the chief concern has been a sensitivity to moral, positive and practical approaches to the topic under discussion.

My treatment of the topic - The Role of Integration In Education- has been divided into what I consider several logical aspects. First, are the definitions, concepts and limitations, then a description of the umbrella or scope of the problem; related data to reveal my terminology - The Short-Changed; a listing of a few major road-blocks to school integration; some workable plans for realizing the goal more rapidly and effectively; how the New York City Board of Education is meeting the problem of having integration play its proper role in education; and finally some results of desegregated schooling.

I am convinced that integration is both a goal and a process. We learn it by doing; practice makes for efficiency and success. This is no empty platitude if we are to believe the findings of Dr. Robert Coles.

No discussion of integration in our schools is complete without reference to the organized efforts of such groups as the N.A.A.C.P.,

Core, etc. While one may not agree with all of their techniques, they must be given credit for keeping their attention on the goal - a new America based upon our common ideals as given in the Declaration of Independence and the United States Constitution. Surely they are American democracy's necessary irritants. The July 18, 1963 JET (a Johnson publication) describes four of these organizations - there are several more - and you will find comparative information on them on the last page. Their key words are ALL, HERE, NOW. ALL rights of which integration affords the best vehicle; HERE, referring to every place in America; NOW, not next year, but now. There are common threads of purposes, however different the technique may be.

Dan W. Dodson, Director of the Center for Human Relations, New York University, has said:

> ".....The real issue before us is how to lead all the community's children to meaningful encounters with each other to the end that they may develop the skills of citizenship commensurate with the demands of the time in which they live....."(33)

We should not require the minority children to assume added and disproportionate burdens in our attempts to integrate the public schools. The long travel time required to transfer Negro children into predominately white neighborhoods is an example of this. The time and energy required of such children may hinder rather than

promote integration. Too, this solution to the problem should work both ways.

These seem to be the desired accomplishments when integration is permitted to play its proper role in public education:

1. A deeper understanding of our American Society. It is multi-cultural, multi-racial and of many religious faiths.

2. A developed readiness to create, maintain and extend throughout the community wholesome attitudes and actions toward all men.

3. The release from unfounded fears, stereotypes and generalizations about people.

4. Improvement in mental and emotional health through a *reduction of tensions.* (A false sense of superiority is just as harmful as a real sense of inferiority).

5. The actual equalization of educational opportunities. (Separate but equal has never worked.)

6. Desirable economy of funds, materials and personnel.

Education is a never ending process. It is related to all experiences of the individual - in his home, school, religious groups- all contribute toward his education. They determine his behavior,

attitudes, abilities, and skills. Integration is natural, it is more than mere physical mixing, it involves the best in man's relation to man. It's foundation rests not upon sand but on the rocks of understanding, mutual respect and the highest ideals of intergroup relations.

I need not be reminded that this is easier said than done. I am optinistic, for I am sure that with our brains, skills and desire to lick the problem, it can and will be done. Men who can conquer space,control disease, design a push button existence can surely develop a society wherein all people can live together in freedom and peace. We must first make Mississippi safe for our brothers before we plan for inhabiting the moon. I am certain it can be done. If not, we will come to the day when we will have a resident psychiatrist in every split-level house.

Yes, acquiring full and complete integration will test our patience, ingenuity, resourcefulness, and determination. But, it must be done because it is morally right, just, democratic and in accord with Judaic and Christian concepts. The best place to begin, as a community, is in a school whose teachers will refuse to teach their prejudices, either by overt actions or otherwise.

Integration can and will play its role, for a better social order, when you and I meet the challenge of change. We must do our part and not assume a "let-George do it" attitude. By taking

positive steps we no longer remain a part of the problem, but, rather rise to a high stage of victorious living. For then, and only then, will we release ourselves as a part of the problem, and become a part of the solution.

MAJOR ORGANIZATIONS WORKING FOR INTEGRATION

- 1963 -

	NAACP	CORE	SCLC	SNCC
FORMAL NAME	National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People	Congress of Racial Equality	Southern Christian Leadership Conference	Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee
PURPOSE	To end all racial discrimination and segregation in all public aspects of American life	To bring equality of opportunity in all spheres of American life, regardless of race	To achieve full citizenship rights, and the integration of the Negro in all aspects of life.	To create a new society through non-violent efforts
HEADQUARTERS	20 W. 40 St., N. Y. C.	38 Park Row, N. Y. C.	334 Auburn Ave., N. W. Atlanta 3, Georgia	6 Raymond Street Atlanta, Georgia
MEMBERSHIP	400,000 members in 1,600 units in 45 states and the District of Columbia	61,000 dues-paying members in some 50 chapters throughout the nation	350,000 members in 38 affiliated groups in the South and 30 Northern affiliates organized primarily for raising funds	Non-Membership; Staff of 75. Summer workers 23. In September, 1961 had staff of 16.
BUDGET	$974,145	$775,000	$500,000	$160,000
LEADER	Roy Wilkins Executive Secretary	James L. Farmer National Director	Martin L. King, Jr. President	James Forman Executive Secretary
TECHNIQUES	Court suits, educational programs to change public opinion, sit-ins, voter registration drives, picketing, selective buying campaigns	Sit-ins, Freedom Rides, demonstrations. Founded in Chicago in 1942, CORE practices Mahatma Gandhi's passive resistance methods	Use of the philosophy of non-violence	(NOT STATED)
RECORD	Won more than 42 major decisions in favor of civil rights, including greatest victory-1954 U.S. Supreme Court desegregation decision-and recent U.S. Supreme Court rulings in favor of Negroes arrested in Dixie sit-in demonstrations	CORE held its first "sit-in" at a Chicago restaurant in 1942, sit-ins have led to integration of many facilities in North and South	Organized in March 1957 in New Orleans, La. SCLC has served as a coordinating agency for local protest centers, is presently well-along on a drive to desegregate Birmingham, Ala.	Led successful voter registration drives in Miss. and participated in sit-ins.

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